000 future use.

*177 182 As is evident from these data, the dependence on local biotic resources has not remained constant. For the most part, the introduction of iron technology, guns, and new cultigens has not greatly changed the patterns of exploitation of biotic resources. However, cultural changes brought about by the local availability of regional resources have had consequences in the degree to which the forest flora and fauna are exploited as well as the extent of the manipulation of cultigen communities. The history of these external resources may be summarized as follows.

Regional Contacts and External Resources

361 *177 The scattered Carib settlements reported by Gillin (1936) along the length of the Upper Barama River have been abandoned. Amerindians have been attracted by enclaves of introduced economies where new resources are available. In the Upper Barama River area, gold mining [657] activities and later a government settlement project have involved the local population. Also, Caribs have migrated out of the Upper • 166 Barama River drainage basin. Groups of Amerindians have gone to Matthew's Ridge, others to the Cuyuni River.[1]

*177 121 More specifically, this study concerns the succession of regional influences and the resultant human adaptations in the Upper Barama River area. These external resources which have affected the local population size and social organization have reached the Upper Barama River Caribs through two channels. Some have come as public services [657] available to Amerindians through various governmental agents. Other 000

162 602 population are related in some manner.

In addition to a generational continuity of the human group 175 591 involved, there has also been a continuity in interaction. That is, • 166 during the period under consideration, material exchanges and the migrations of individuals among Carib settlements in the Upper Barama area have been more pronounced than such exchanges with outside settlements. This permits the Upper Barama Caribs to be [121] identified as a single adapting population for the purpose of this *177 analysis (Rappaport 1969:184). However, the frequency of contacts 361 and the nature of movements among settlements have changed. Specifically, small, dispersed, semi-nomadic social units have given way to nucleations around centers where external resources are available. In this context, different settlement patterns would appear to represent different adaptations devised by the same group of people [161] to meet differing conditions. Differing rates of population growth also would appear to be the result of the changing circumstances.

Settlement Pattern

175 161 361 During 1932-33, Gillin estimates a Carib population of not more than 600 for the entire Barama River area (1936:113). In all, thirty-three settlements were located along the Barama River (1936: 110). About ten[3] were above Towakaima (see Figure 6). This includes the Sawari[4] settlement for which more complete population data were 175 recorded. The population for this settlement consisted of forty-seven 161 individuals (1936:110). Since the primary adaptation was to the rain 162 361 forest, there were no reported concentrations of population in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40]

TABLE 4

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161 POPULATION OF SETTLEMENTS, 1969

In Time	103
Big Creek	68
Aranka	90
Baramita	47
Baramita Air Strip	53
Piai	39
Korotoko	36
Barama Head	34
Karisho	29
Maswakai	5*
Total	504

*This number had been recently depleted by 32. These people along with the entire population of Anama, 32, and 19 from In Time had gone to Matthew's Ridge.

(166)

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

NOTES

175 162 114 [173] [1]It is improbable that the exact history of the current Upper Barama River Carib population can be established. Schomburgk, during his surveying of the North West District in the 1840's, found Akawai as well as Carib settlements on the Barama River (1848:359-363). Gillin, of course, found only Carib settlements in 1932-33 and suggests that the Caribs usurped the Akawai position in the area. Gillin records a local tradition that the first Carib ancestors migrated from around the head of the Corentyne River to the Barama River and concludes that the ancestors of the Carib population had been in the area only for about 200 years (1936:113).

162 166 [173] During the 1970-71 field work, it was discovered that several male Carib ancestors with significant numbers of offspring in the current population had migrated into the Upper Barama River area from the Pomeroon River area. Some had done this to escape the widespread influenza epidemic after World War I. Also, at least some Caribs currently maintain that according to tradition, the first ancestors to populate the Upper Barama River area came either from Venezuela or the Cuyuni River area. In any case, the question of these origins does not pertain to the analysis being developed.

000 [551] [2]Carib nicknames remain in use (Gillin 1936:77-78). Individuals guard the privacy of these names to different degrees. Western names are also used. In addition to a chosen first name, the father's first name is usually taken as a last name. Thus Manuel Jacob's son is called Francis Manuel.

[103] [3]In addition to nine obvious Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area, Gillin includes the location of "John's Settlement" and "Old World" with no indication of their nature (1936:2). Their names highly suggest mining camps of some sort.

Also, Gillin reports the abandonment of two settlements, Massewah (same as Maswakai) and Korotoko (1936:125,135), which were subsequently reinhabited. In consideration of all of these factors, the estimated figure of ten inhabited settlements appears to be appropriate.

[103] [4]The Upper Barama River Caribs explain that the Carib name for this settlement is Sevalipialu and that the abbreviation Sawari is used with non-Carib people. The shorter name, consistent with Gillin's usage, is maintained here.

[5]Gillin later revises this estimated range to seven to seventy individuals (1936:98), but the first more conservative estimate of settlement size appears to be more appropriate for the Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area.

[36] [103] [197] [6]It must be pointed out that the Carib people recognize a distinction between the group of settlements in the upper section and the lower section of the Upper Barama River. They refer to the former as Barama Top Side and the latter as Barama Bottom Side and claim

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[361] a difference in language spoken by these two groups of people.
[103] However, all such Carib language distinctions are being rapidly lost
[197] as the language is undergoing modification with the increased cen-
*[179] tralization of the population and reliance on English.

[7]Baramita and Baramita Air Strip are two separate settlements.

[8]This number was depleted by thirty-two. These people recently had gone to Matthew's Ridge. Also, the entire population of Anama, thirty-two persons, had gone with them. At this time, nineteen from In Time had gone to Matthew's Ridge as well.

[9]This common size may represent a decrease in the mobility of the
[166] Carib population among different remote settlements as reported by Gillin.

[10]An old man and wife, too decrepit to travel, were located at Piai.

[11]Data for this necessarily diachronic perspective on the popu-
[127] lation sizes are available from a variety of sources. These include Gillin's census data (1936), government census estimates and records, reports of the Malaria Eradication Programme, voting registration lists, and population data collected in the Upper Barama River area during the 1970-71 field work. The diversity of these quantitative
[163] reports presents several problems. First of all, the Caribs do not record their birth dates. Nor do they place any emphasis on remembering how old any individual is. Consequently, all recorded ages are estimates made by the observer. Some age data were collected by the nominal categories of adult and child. Furthermore, with varying purposes for collecting population data, territorial units have not been consistent. In different enumerations the Upper Barama River area has been aggregated with portions of adjacent territory. Although these data limitations underscore the conditions of less than laboratory control involved in studying human behavioral adaptations, they do not preclude inquiry.

[12]Among the Carib women at Baramita Air Strip this pattern appears
[184] to be particular to each woman and not related to seasons or other cyclical events.

Kloos reports a similar pattern for the interval between births for the Maroni River Caribs of Surinam. In this instance, women are tending to reproduce a child every thirty months over a period of thirty years (1971:102).

[13]Of course, this calculation does not account for twins or other
[845] multiple births. Among the Carib women at Baramita Air Strip, two have given birth to twins which are discriminated against in no way.

*177 592 621 sons-in-law. The fourth consisted of a man, about fifty, his wife and children and his old father and mother. Lastly, one man, also about fifty, has had his father-in-law with two adult sons and all [622] their wives and children move into his cultivated field. This last residence situation had persisted for about two years when the Amerindian Captain called attention to it as a case of excessive exploitation.

[595] Aranka, on the other hand, is outstanding in that one man maintains five wives who have had, to date, thirty-six children. He is the center of one large clearing with his various fathers-in-law and sons-in-law around him. In addition, two new clearings of Karisho people were being established at Aranka in the spring of 1971. One was inhabited by a nuclear family, another by a nuclear family extended by the wife's old father and his crippled wife. A young man who is deaf and dumb and moves about from relative to relative was also living in this last clearing. He is the old man's brother's son. To some extent, this residence pattern is the result of the [166] abbreviation of the continual movement of households due to the advantageous location near the center of external resources, and the market opportunities at this center have tended to dissolve the ties of general reciprocity between men in different clearings as will be discussed at a later point.

The residence situation at the Air Strip is more complex than that in either satellite settlement. The households of previous miners and households from the more remote areas have moved there. Currently, there are twenty clearings. Their general locations

*177 592 621 not mature enough to have children. Two other clearings are inhabited by households of this type that have moved in from the more remote settlements. In both cases, the families of a man and his son-in-law have moved as a unit to the Air Strip.

The third category is still more complex. In these cases, larger numbers of people are present which contributes to the ambiguity of household divisions. Four of these larger groups of relatives in a (166) common clearing are clearly the result of the abandonment of the mine and the occurrence of new resources at the Air Strip. Kinsmen are temporarily allied for the move to the Air Strip from the mine as (596) well as from the more remote areas. These kinship groups are laterally extended. In two cases they are composed of the nuclear families of brothers as well as their sons and sons-in-law. In two other cases, the sons and sons-in-law of a single man and all their (484) wives and children are residing together. Among these groups, component units of a man and his wife and children often left on extended trips either to a more remote settlement or to Matthew's Ridge. Usually, this was because agricultural fields around the air strip were not yet productive.

*177 592 624 621 The two remaining examples in the third category are the clearings of the current Captain and the prominent Councillor. The Councillor is about fifty and has three wives of different ages. His household includes an adult son-in-law and son and his wives and (609) children. In addition, an old porknocker long resident among the Upper Barama River Caribs lives in the Councillor's clearing. ooo Holding office has served to extend the household of the current